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GREEK AND ROMAN WEATHER LORE OF TWO DESTRUCTIVE AGENTS, HAIL AND DROUGHT

(Continued from page 12)

III. DROUGHT

GENERAL REMARKS

It is an ill wind that blows nobody good, but there are no extenuating circumstances for a drought. When it does not injure or destroy one's means of livelihood, it interferes with one's pleasure and comfort. The story of the hardships entailed by droughts is much the same in all ages. A vivid description of one protracted drought is to be found in a passage in a long sermon preached by St. Basil¹⁸⁶:

'We see, O brothers, the heavens impervious to rain, bare, and cloudless, making hateful this brightness and afflicting us with the clearness which we at first greatly desired when the long-continued cloudiness caused us dark and sunless days. The earth, now exceedingly parched, is unpleasant to look upon, being unfit for tillage and unproductive. It has opened in cracks and is receiving the gleaming rays in its depths. Springs that used to be full and ever-flowing have failed us, and the streams of great rivers have dwindled. The smallest children wade in them, and women with burdens cross them¹⁸⁷. Even drinking water has failed most of us, and we are in want of the things necessary for life'.

One of the most terrible droughts of antiquity began in Asia Minor about the middle of the fifth century A. D. It finally spread to Palestine and other areas. The inhabitants of Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, being in want of the bare necessities of life, had recourse to unwholesome food, which gave rise to a pestilence that brought death on the third day. When relief seemed beyond hope, Heaven rained down food in a manner which recalled to the Church historian, Evagrius, the manna that fell upon the Israelites. The next year Heaven caused the fruits of the earth to mature spontaneously¹⁸⁸.

A graphic picture of the terrors of dry weather appeared in one of our own magazines before the protracted drought of 1930¹⁸⁹:

Back on the Maine farm where I grew up the weather had two major terrors: In winter—The Blizzard! In summer—The Drought! And of the two the drought was infinitely more to be feared. In the spring we would plant crops with high hopes. Across the dark earth the blades would write their green lines of promise. The faces of the fields would lift lustily to the sun, until the heads of the herd's grass billowed in every breeze. Then, in some years, the rains would fail. Weeks, months, would pass with only an occasional shower. With the parching of the crops, which furnished much of our

winter sustenance, it seemed that our lifeblood was drying up¹⁹⁰. Farmers would gaze at the cloudless skies and shake their heads. Even our childish merriment was subdued.

One does not easily forget the menace of a Lean Year.

Drought and another destructive agent, excessive rainfall, are often mentioned in one and the same breath¹⁹¹. The farmer was always bemoaning dry weather or excessive rainfall¹⁹², evils against which it was impossible to provide protection¹⁹³. He abused 'those responsible' whenever there was too much or too little rain¹⁹⁴. Aristophanes makes the Clouds say that they will guard the crops, so that they shall not suffer from too much rain or from not enough rain¹⁹⁵. According to Theognis¹⁹⁶, Zeus failed to please whether he sent rain or withheld rain.

A vivid picture of the attitude of the English farmer toward excessive rainfall a hundred years ago is given by Thomas Hardy¹⁹⁷:

The farmer's income was ruled by the wheat-crop within his own horizon, and the wheat-crop by the weather. Thus, in person, he became a sort of flesh-barometer, with feelers always directed to the sky and wind around him. The local atmosphere was everything to him; the atmosphere of other countries a matter of indifference. The people, too, who were not farmers, saw in the god of the weather a more important personage than they do now. Indeed, the feeling of the peasantry in this matter was so intense as to be almost unrecognizable in these equable days. Their impulse was well-nigh to prostrate themselves before untimely rains and tempests, which came as the Alastor of those households whose crime it was to be poor.

PREDICTIONS AND SIGNS OF DROUGHT

Perhaps the most unusual weather seer of antiquity was Hermotimus of Clazomenae. If we may believe a recorder of miraculous events¹⁹⁸, the soul of Hermotimus departed from his body for many years and dwelt elsewhere. While it was absent, it could predict heavy rains, droughts, earthquakes, famines, and similar things.

There were, however, many simpler ways of securing similar information. When comets were frequent, people expected drought, or winds and drought together¹⁹⁹. The appearance of a comet of the kind called *hippeus*, if it looked toward the North, portended a

¹⁸⁶Aratus tells (Phaenomena 1096-1098) of the dread of the ancient farmer that the harvest might be vexed by drought and come with empty ears and chaff.

¹⁸⁷See, for example, Sophocles, Fragment 524 (The Fragments of Sophocles, Edited with Additional Notes from the Papers of Sir R. C. Jebb and Dr W. G. Headlam, by A. C. Pearson, 2.167 [Cambridge: At the University Press, 1917]); Ovid, Fasti 4.641-644; Valcandi Vita S. Deodati 25 (Migne, P.L., 151.631). Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum 9.17 (Migne, P.L., 71.495), speaks of the damage that great rainfall caused in vineyards.

¹⁸⁸Plato, Axiochus 368 C. ¹⁸⁹Xenophon, Oeconomicus 5.18.

¹⁸⁹Simplicii Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion 38 (31).

¹⁹⁰Clouds 1120. ¹⁹¹25-26. ¹⁹²The Mayor of Casterbridge, Chapter 26.

¹⁹³Apollonius, Mirabilia 3.

¹⁹⁴Th., De Signis 34; Aratus 1092-1093; Aristotle, Meteorologica 1.7. 344 b.

¹⁸⁶Homilia Dicta Tempore Famis et Siccitatis 2 (Migne, P.G., 31.305). Columns 303-328 are devoted to this sermon.

¹⁸⁷Tacitus tells us (Historiae 4.26) that the lowness of the Rhine in 69 A.D., when there was barely enough water to float a boat, was regarded by the ignorant as a prodigy.

¹⁸⁸Evagrius 2.6. ¹⁸⁹Merle Crowell, The American Magazine 108.41 (December, 1929).

pestilential drought²⁰⁰. According to Aristotle²⁰¹, the air is full of wind during droughts.

A roaring sound that seemed to arise from below and ascend heavenward betokened want and famine²⁰², presumably caused by drought.

When the blazing heat of the sun continued for several days, it portended a long-continued drought or wind²⁰³.

If the kermes oak fruited well, there was going to be a severe winter, but some said that this was a sign of droughts to come²⁰⁴. The advent of a lion into a crop-producing country signified a dry spell²⁰⁵. If large numbers of birds arrived on the mainland from islands, a severe drought was expected²⁰⁶. It was explained by a scholiast²⁰⁷ that islands felt the effect of drought first and that the birds left when conditions were becoming bad.

There are signs which indicate poor seasons and inferior or worthless crops. These calamities are often due to drought. I shall, however, reserve this material for a future paper.

A few modern signs of drought may be noted. In *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*²⁰⁸ Thomas Tusser says of the moon:

If great she appereth, it showeth out,
If small she appereth, it signifieth drouth.

There are other adages about drought:

Wind east or west
Is a sign of a blast;
Wind north or south
Is a sign of a drought²⁰⁹.

North and south, the sign o' drouth;
East and west, the sign of blast²¹⁰.

Rain from the south prevents the drought;
But rain from the west is always best²¹¹.

Fair weather for a week with a southern wind is likely to produce a great drought, if there has been much rain out of the south before²¹².

In the numerous 'brontologies' of the *Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*²¹³ drought and hot weather are mentioned many times. Two examples will suffice. If it thunders in April when the sun is in Aries and rain does not fall, there will be drought and failure of crops in certain parts of the world²¹⁴. If it thunders in July while the moon is in Cancer, there will not be rain until the beginning of winter²¹⁵.

THE RISING OF THE DOG-STAR A SIGN OF HOT WEATHER

Hot weather was the normal expectation while the Dog-star held sway. When it rose, the earth became parched and dry, and crops ripened prematurely²¹⁶. It brought unspeakable harm to flocks²¹⁷. Persius²¹⁸ de-

scribes it in anything but sympathetic words: *Siccas insana canicula messis iam dudum coquit et patula pecus omne sub ulmo est*.

Its blighting effects are well set forth by Valerius Flaccus²¹⁹ in an extended simile:

... E'en so, when the fierce wrath of God, and the Dog-star, fell ravager of Calabria's plains, press sore upon steading and stall and harvest-fields, the untutored yokels flock together to the hallowed grove, and the man of God teaches them how to frame their humble prayers and vows to Heaven. . . .

Paraphrasing Horace²²⁰, Dryden thus pictures the hot weather caused by the Dog-star²²¹:

The sun is in the Lion mounted high;
The Syrian²²² star
Barks from afar,
And with his sultry breath infects the sky;
The ground below is parched, the heavens above us fry.
The shepherd drives his fainting flock
Beneath the covert of a rock,
And seeks refreshing rivulets nigh:
The Sylvans to their shades retire,
Those very shades and streams new shades and streams
require,
And want a cooling breeze of wind to fan the raging fire.

Thanks to the intercession of Aristaeus the inhabitants of the Cyclades secured some measure of relief from this devastating star²²³:

... But when from heaven Sirius scorched the Minoan Isles, and for long there was no respite for the inhabitants, then by the injunction of the Far-darter they summoned Aristaeus to ward off the pestilence. And by his father's command he left Phthia and made his home in Ceos, and gathered together the Parrhasian people who are of the lineage of Lycaon, and he built a great altar to Zeus Icmæus, and duly offered sacrifices upon the mountains to that star Sirius, and to Zeus son of Cronos himself. And on this account it is that Etesian winds from Zeus cool the land for forty days, and in Ceos even now the priests offer sacrifices before the rising of the Dog-star²²⁴.

DRY WEATHER AND EARTHQUAKES

Modern lore says that in dry weather all signs fail²²⁵, but among the ancients long droughts or heavy and continuous rains were supposed to precede earthquakes²²⁶. One source states that in summer drought helped to cause earthquakes²²⁷. Astrology taught that earthquakes were followed by dry spells²²⁸.

Dreadful droughts and sudden and violent earthquakes occurred at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius²²⁹. Similar catastrophes, with their warnings of evil,

²⁰⁰Lydus, *De Ostentis* 12. ²⁰¹Meteorologica 2.8, 366 b.
²⁰²Julius Obsequens 46 (106). ²⁰³Th., *De Signis* 26.
²⁰⁴Th., *De Signis* 49. ²⁰⁵Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 8.
²⁰⁶Th., *De Signis* 17; Aratus 1094-1098. ²⁰⁷On Aratus 1095, 1098.

²⁰⁸Edited by W. Payne and S. J. Herrtage, and published for the English Dialect Society: see Series D, Miscellaneous, page 30 (London, Trübner, 1878).
²⁰⁹Richard Inwards, *Weather Lore: A Collection of Proverbs, Sayings, and Rules Concerning the Weather*, 90 (London, Elliot Stock, 1898).
²¹⁰*Ibidem*. ²¹¹*Ibidem*, 131. ²¹²*Ibidem*, 97.
²¹³See note 87, above. ²¹⁴7.164. ²¹⁵7.164-165.
²¹⁶Ovid, *Fasti* 4.939-940. ²¹⁷Apollonius Rhodius 3.957-959.
²¹⁸3.5-6. Compare *damnosus canicula* in 3.49.

²¹⁹1.682-685. I give the translation by H. G. Blomfield, *The Argonautica of Gaius Valerius Flaccus Suetonius Balbus*, Book I (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1916). <For a notice, by Charles Knapp, of this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY II.110-111. C.K.>
²²⁰Odes 3.49.
²²¹To be found in *Poems Included in Sylvae* (Second Miscellany), 1685. I give the text as found in *The Works of John Dryden, Illustrated With Notes, Historical, Critical, and Explanatory, and Life of the Author by Sir Walter Scott, Revised and Corrected by George Saintsbury*, 12.365 (Edinburgh, T. and A. Constable, 1885).
²²²Should we read 'Sirian'?

²²³Apollonius Rhodius 2.516-527. I give the translation by R. C. Seaton, in *The Loeb Classical Library*. The Scholium on 2.498 is important. Many other references to this event have been collected by Professor A. S. Pease, in his notes on Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.130 (M. Tulli Ciceronis *De Divinatione*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, VI, VIII [1920, 1923]).
²²⁴For other lore of the Dog-star see C. W. 20.51 A-52 A, 23.6 A.
²²⁵One may still hear this saying. ²²⁶Pausanias 7.24.7.
²²⁷Lydus, *De Ostentis* 53. ²²⁸*Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 8, Part 3, 124, 195 (see note 87, above).
²²⁹Dio Cassius 66.22.3.

added to the general alarm at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War²³⁰:

And traditions which had often been current before, but rarely verified by fact, were now no longer doubted. For there were earthquakes unparalleled in their extent and fury, and eclipses of the sun more numerous than are recorded to have happened in any former age; there were also in some places great droughts causing famine, and lastly the plague which did immense harm and destroyed numbers of the people.

DROUGHTS CAUSED BY BLOODSHED

Nothing else brought droughts more surely than murder, and nothing else caused longer and more severe droughts. There is a striking example in the legendary history of Attica²³¹. By order of Aegeus some countrymen waylaid and assassinated Androgeus, the son of Minos, near Oenoe in Attica. Minos demanded justice, which was refused, whereupon he proclaimed war upon the Athenians and besought Zeus to send a drought and famine upon their city. Immediately a great drought occurred in Attica, and even throughout all Greece. Amid the great suffering and famine that followed, the chief men of several cities had the god at Delphi consulted in order to learn what they should do to get rid of the affliction. They were directed to have Aeacus, the son of Zeus, and of Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, offer sacrifices in their behalf. When these instructions had been carried out, the drought and the famine ceased everywhere but in Attica, so that the Athenians again resorted to the oracle.

The god told them that to expiate the murder of Androgeus they should comply with whatever demands Minos might make. He bade them send every year for seven years seven boys and seven girls as offerings to the Minotaur²³².

Aeacus was called upon to intercede for Greece during another (?) drought²³³ caused by a murder. He was picked out by the leaders both because of his relationship to Zeus and because of his piety²³⁴.

Now Aeacus was the most pious of men. Therefore, when Greece suffered from infertility on account of Pelops, because in a war with Stymphalus, king of the Arcadians, being unable to conquer Arcadia, he slew the king under a pretence of friendship, and scattered his mangled limbs, oracles of the gods declared that Greece would be rid of its present calamities if Aeacus would offer prayers on its behalf. So Aeacus did offer prayers, and Greece was delivered from the dearth²³⁵.

As soon as Aeacus had ascended a mountain and stretched forth his hands in prayer, there was an auspicious peal of thunder and clouds began to gather.

²³⁰Thucydides 1.23.3. I give the translation by Benjamin Jowett (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909).

²³¹Diodorus 4.60.5-61.3. Compare Plutarch, Theseus 15.1; Apollodorus 3.15.8 (see note 233, below).

²³²For a drought caused by Neptune on account of the failure of Melissus to get justice from Corinth for the killing of Actaeon see Plutarch, Moralia 772 E-773 B.

²³³Sir James George Frazer, Apollodorus, The Library, 2.56 (London, Heinemann, 1921), seems to regard the following account and the story of Minos as discrepant explanations of the same drought. <For a review, by Charles Knapp, of this work, which is part of The Loeb Classical Library, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.197-198. C.K.>

²³⁴Isocrates, Evagoras 14.
²³⁵Apollodorus 3.12.6 (see note 233, above). See also Pausanias 1.44.9, 2.29.7-8; Isocrates, Evagoras 14-15; Clement of Alexandria, Stromata 6.3.28 (Migne, P.G., 9.246); Scholiast on Pindar, Nemea 5.17; Eudocia, Violarium 13. The scholiast on Aristophanes, Equites 1253, speaks of a drought in Aegina.

Abundant rain fell and restored fertility²³⁶. In gratitude Aeacus built a sanctuary on Mount Panhellenius²³⁷.

In Egypt the land yielded its increase by the aid of the waters of the Nile, but the waters did not always save the country from want and famine. The seven lean years described in the Bible were exceeded by the nine years of dearth in the time of King Busiris. After the land had suffered for this long period, there came to Busiris from Cyprus a soothsayer named Thrasius, who explained that Jupiter could be appeased by the blood of a stranger. Thereupon the king made Thrasius the first victim²³⁸. The story is thus told by Ovid²³⁹:

Dicitur Aegyptos caruisse iuvantibus arva
imbribus atque annos sicca fuisse novem²⁴⁰,
cum Thrasius Busirin adit monstatque piari
hospitis adfuso sanguine posse Iovem.
Illi Busiris, "Fies Iovis hostia primus",
inquit, "et Aegypto tu dabis hospes aquam".

When Heracles reached Egypt in his wanderings, he was seized and brought to the altar to serve as the annual victim, but he broke his bonds and slew the king²⁴¹.

In historical times the story of Busiris proved a source of embarrassment to Greeks and Egyptians. Herodotus²⁴² discredited it and thought that by so doing he was winning the favor of gods and heroes. Isocrates²⁴³ got rid of the difficulty by explaining that Heracles and Busiris were not contemporaries. It is also stated that there never was a king named Busiris, and that the invention of the story was due to a desire to malign the inhabitants of the Busirite Nome as inhospitable, a falsehood for which the Egyptians in general had to suffer an evil reputation²⁴⁴.

SENDERS OF DROUGHT

Although Polybius²⁴⁵ tried to see relations of cause and effect in the natural world, he nevertheless believed that things whose causes it was difficult or impossible to ascertain should be ascribed to god or to fortune. As examples he gives droughts and frosts.

As we shall see, both pagan deities and the Christian God sent drought in dealing with erring mankind²⁴⁶. The power of causing a dry spell was attributed, however, to an occasional wise man and to many weather magicians. Empedocles could induce a drought after rain, as well as a tree-nourishing rain after drought²⁴⁷. There were also mountain-dwelling Brahmins who by prayer could occasion either rainy or rainless weather²⁴⁸.

²³⁶Clement of Alexandria, Stromata 6.3.28 (Migne, P.G., 9.246).
²³⁷Pausanias 2.30.4. For interesting material on Mount Panhellenius, which was a local weather index, see A. B. Cook, Zeus, 2.984, note 3 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1925).

²³⁸Apollodorus 2.5.11 (see note 233, above).

²³⁹Ars Amatoria 1.647-652.

²⁴⁰The period is sometimes given as eight years for instance by Daniel-Servius on Vergil, Georgics 3.5.

²⁴¹For other references to the story of Busiris, which has many ramifications, see Isocrates, Busiris 36-37; Plutarch, Moralia 315 B-C; Diodorus Siculus 4.18.1, 4.27.3; Scholium on Apollonius Rhodius 4.1396; Ovid, Metamorphoses 9.182-183, Ibis 397-400, and Scholia on 397; Daniel-Servius on Vergil, Aeneid 8.299; Vergil, Georgics 3.5, and Daniel-Servius on the passage; Aulus Gellius 2.6.3; Hyginus, Fabulae 31, 56; Macrobius, Saturnalia 6.7.5; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, Thebais 12.155; Claudian, In Eutropium 1.159-162; Evagrius, Busiris 36-37.

²⁴²2.45. ²⁴³Busiris, 36-37. ²⁴⁴Strabo 17.19.

²⁴⁵37.9. ²⁴⁶See the text connected with notes 254-264, below.
²⁴⁷Empedocles, Fragment 111, in H. Diels, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, I².263 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912).

²⁴⁸Damascius, Vita Isidori 67.

Origen tells us²⁴⁹ that there were demons who caused pestilences, barrenness of the soil, and storms. Many thought that such calamities as famine, scarcity, earthquakes, and droughts are to be ascribed to maleficent demons²⁵⁰. In the sixth century even members of the Christian clergy held that drought and similar calamities were sent by the devil, for in 563 a synod which met at Braga in the Spanish province of Galicia ruled that such persons were to be anathema²⁵¹.

A scholiast²⁵² informs us of persons who made sacrifices called 'purifications' in order to ward off drought, famine, and similar things, but these persons were regarded as worthless and as plotting against nature. Seneca²⁵³ regarded as nonsense the idea that rain could be either repelled or induced by incantation.

DROUGHT AS A PUNISHMENT

The activity of the elements was attributed to divine agency; so was their inactivity—drought. As a rule, dry weather was regarded as a visitation from Zeus by way of punishment, but it was sometimes ascribed to the displeasure of the gods in general.

We are told that drought came whenever justice had fallen into disrepute and was disowned by men²⁵⁴. Even in Petronius²⁵⁵ it is said that such a calamity was inflicted because men were no longer devout.

In view of such ideas it can be seen that a dry period was a signal for retrospection and action. Christian leaders sometimes exhorted the people to show repentance for the sins which caused the trouble.

With these ideas one may compare Leviticus 26.3-4:

If ye walk in my statutes, and keep my commandments, and do them;

Then I will give you rain in due season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit.

Whenever a drought occurs in a period of waning religious fervor, there are always some minds which see a relation of cause and effect. An example occurs in Amos 4.7²⁵⁶:

And also I have withholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest: and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not withered.

In 429 B. C. Italy was much afflicted by lack of rain, so that streams were almost dry. Flocks were dying, and diseases were wasting both man and beast. When the leaders of the State investigated, they became alarmed at the inroads which foreign religious rites and superstitions were making. They instructed the aediles to see that none but Roman gods should be worshiped and that ceremonies should be conducted only in the manner of the fathers²⁵⁷.

Centuries later, in the time of Tertullian, when the Tiber overflowed, or the Nile failed to cover the fields beside it, or the heavens withheld rain, or some other

affliction came, a new religion was again blamed and there arose the cry *Christianos ad leonem*²⁵⁸. Cyprian²⁵⁹ felt outraged whenever excessive rain or drought was charged to the Christians.

In a very long sermon by St. Basil, from which a quotation has been made²⁶⁰, we find the occurrence of a dry spell an occasion for calling men to repentance, much in the manner of an Old Testament prophet²⁶¹. St. Basil indicts the men for not being busy at work, and the women for being their ministers in quest of Mammon²⁶². When a Church service is over, the few that attend, most of them sick persons, depart, he says, as from a prison, glad to have done with the need of prayer. Even the smallest children, leaving their tablets and books in School, are making a holiday of the emergency and are rejoicing over their escape from the short hours with the master. A multitude of care-free men involved in sin and carrying in their minds the cause of evil has brought the calamity.

The affliction is sent, continues St. Basil, because men are turning from the ways of God. It is God's wish not to destroy men, but to correct and chastise them like wayward children.

In similar manner Cyprian holds that scanty rainfall and destructive hailstorms are due to the displeasure of the Deity²⁶³.

One of the record-breaking droughts of Greek history (or legend) was caused by the disobedience of Grinus, king of the island of Thera. When he was making offerings at Delphi, he was told to found a colony in Libya. Because of his age he was reluctant to do so, and he even failed to have someone else fulfill the oracle. For seven years after that no rain fell on the island, and all the trees withered, except one. On consulting the oracle again—somewhat belatedly, it would seem—the Theraeans were reminded of the oracle about the colony and immediately took measures to carry out its directions²⁶⁴.

PROPITIATION OF THE DIVINE POWERS

Amid the blighting effects of drought men inevitably turn to the gods. Under such circumstances the Greeks and the Romans prayed, held sacrifices, and conducted processions.

An Athenian prayer has been preserved for us by Marcus Aurelius²⁶⁵, who was charmed by its simple beauty: 'Rain, rain, dear Zeus, upon the plowed fields of the Athenians and on the plains'. Since the rain fertilized the earth²⁶⁶, participants in the Eleusinian mysteries, looking up to heaven, shouted, 'Rain', and then, looking down to earth, cried 'Conceive'²⁶⁷.

²⁴⁹Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 40.

²⁵⁰Ad Demetrianum 2 (Migne, P. L., 4.564).

²⁵¹See note 186, above, and the text to which that note applies. The additional material used here is from Migne, P. G., 31.308-309. Compare Gregory, *Historia Francorum* 10.30 (Migne, P. L., 71.562).

²⁵²I Samuel 12.17-18; II Chronicles 6.26-28.

²⁵³Compare Frazer, *The Magic Art*, 110-114, for the belief of savages that incest may cause drought.

²⁵⁴Cyprian, Ad Demetrianum 7 (Migne, P. L., 4.568). See also Valcandi Vita S. Deodati 25 (Migne, P. L., 151.631).

²⁵⁵Herodotus 4.150-151.

²⁵⁶Ad Se Ipsum 5.7. See Morgan, 92.

²⁵⁷Compare Aeschylus, Fragment 44 *δύστρος . . . ἔκλυε γαῖαν*. A Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*², page 16 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1889), prints *ἔδευσεν* in the text, but records the reading *ἔκλυε* from several manuscripts.

²⁵⁸Procullus on Plato, *Timaeus* 293 C.

²⁴⁹Contra Celsum 1.31 (Migne, P. G., 11.717, 719).

²⁵⁰Porphyrus, *De Abstinencia* 2.40.

²⁵¹See note 161, above. ²⁵²On Aristophanes, *Ranae* 730.

²⁵³Naturales Quaestiones 4.7.2.

²⁵⁴Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 3.34. ²⁵⁵44.

²⁵⁶See also Deuteronomy 11.17; I Kings 17.1, 18.1, 41-45; II Kings 3.17; II Chronicles 6.26-28; Jeremiah 14.4, 17.8; Haggai 1.11.

²⁵⁷Livy 4.30.7-11.

The Parthenon contained an image of Earth praying for rain, either because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because the drought was over all Greece²⁶⁸. A few words from a Roman *Precatio Terrae*²⁶⁹ may be noted here:

Dea sancta Tellus, rerum natura parens,
tu Ditis umbras tegis et immensum chaos
ventosque et imbres tempestatesque attines
et, cum libet, dimittis. . .

After Rhea had brought forth Zeus in Arcadia, she sought in vain for water in the thirsty Metope River. Thereupon she told Earth also to bring forth. Earth smote a mountain with her staff; the mountain parted and poured forth a mighty flood²⁷⁰.

In China, too, the Earth God is associated with the weather²⁷¹:

. . . In spite of the dark red dawn the sun was mounting the horizon clouds and sparkled upon the dew on the rising wheat and barley. The farmer in Wang Lung was diverted for an instant and he stooped to examine the budding heads. They were empty as yet and waiting for the rain. He smelled the air and looked anxiously at the sky. Rain was there, dark in the clouds, heavy upon the wind. He would buy a stick of incense and place it in the little temple to the Earth God. On a day like this he would do it.

The year 181 B. C. was noteworthy for dryness and dearth of crops in Italy. The absence of rain for six months caused the Romans to consult the Sibylline Books and to make a *supplicatio*²⁷².

Horace²⁷³ tells us that prayers in verse form were pleasant to the gods. He makes special mention of those for water from heaven. Doubtless there were early Christian chants for rain. A very long hymn, attributed to St. Ambrose, is still extant²⁷⁴. It would seem that there could not have been many occasions when earth and vegetation were parched enough to make it appropriate. As in the exhortations of the Old Testament prophets and in modern rogations for rain, in this hymn, too, the dryness is regarded as a punishment for sins.

HYMNUS IN POSTULATIONE PLUVIAE

Squalent arva soli pulvere multo,
Pallet siccus ager, terra fatiscit;
Nullus rursus honos, nulla venustas
Quando nulla viret gratia florum.

Tellus dura sitit, nescia roris;
Fons jam nescit aquas, flumina cursus;
Herbam nescit humus, nescit aratrum,
Magno rupta patet turpis hiatus.

Fervens sole dies, igneus ardor
Ipsas urit aves, frondea rami
Fessis tecta negant, pulvis arenae
Sicco dispuetur ore vantis.

²⁶⁸Pausanias 1.24.3. Compare Pausanias 10.12.10. See also Morgan, 91-94, 96-97.

²⁶⁹A. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, volume one, page 139, verses 7-9 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1879).

²⁷⁰Callimachus, *Hymns* 1.10-32.

²⁷¹Pearl S. Buck, *The Good Earth*, 10 (New York, The John Day Co., 1931).

²⁷²Livy 40.29.2; Julius Obsequens 6 (60).

²⁷³*Epistulae* 2.1.134-138. The passage is quoted in the text, a line or two below the marking for note 291.

²⁷⁴Hymni S. Ambrosii *Attributi* 4 (Migne, P. L., 17.1175). <The text is given exactly as it appears in Migne. C. K.>. I have not been able to find an English translation of this hymn. The hymn for rain is preceded by one called *Hymnus ad Serenitatem Poscendam*.

Ventis ore^{274a} ferae, bestia ventis,
Captantesque viri flamina ventis,
Ventis et volucres ora recludunt,
Hac mulcere sitim fraude volentes.

Foetus cerva suos, pignora cerva,
Foetus cerva siti fessa recusat,
Foetus cerva pios moesta relinquit
Quaesitam quoniam non vehit herbam.

Venerunt juvenes, pocula noti
Quaerentes putei, lymphaque fugit;
Et vasis vacuis tecta revisunt,
Fletus, heu! proprios ore bibentes.

Bos praesepe suum linquit inane;
Pratorumque volens carpere gramen,
Nudam versat humum; sic pecus omne
Fraudatum moriens, labitur herbis.

Radices nemorum rustica plebes
Explorat misero curva labore,
Solarique famem cortice quaerit
Nec succos teneros arida praestat.

Hanc peccata famem nostra merentur,
Sed merce propria Christe faveto
Quo culpa gravior gratia major
Iusti supplicii vincla resolvat.

Jam coelos reseres, arvaque laxes
Fecundo placidus imbre rogamus.
Heliae meritis impia saecula
Donasti pluvia: nos quoque dones.

Aeterne genitor, gloria Christo
Semper cum genito sit tibi sancto
Compar Spiritui, qui Deus unus
Pollens perpetuis inclyte saeculis.

Gregory of Tours²⁷⁵ tells of a drought about Arvernum in the time of Saint Quintianus. It was so severe that the parched fields and the vegetation could not provide food for cattle. In their distress the people hastened to meet the saint as he was coming to the city to conduct some religious services. Confident that God would hearken because of the man's holiness, they requested him to begin an antiphony. At once he prostrated himself and prayed with tears in his eyes. Rising, he conducted the antiphony which the people sought. He entreated God in the words of Solomon:

When the heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; yet. . . if they confess thy name, and turn from their sin, when thou dost afflict them;

Then hear thou from heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants. . . ; and send rain upon thy land, which thou hast given unto thy people for an inheritance²⁷⁶.

When the people began to sing psalms fervently, the words of the confessor reached the ears of the power on high, and, behold, the heavens were darkened and shut off from view by clouds. Before the people reached the gates of the city, a drenching rain fell upon the entire land, so that all marvelled and said that the rain was vouchsafed in response to the words of the blessed man.

The crude ideas of the ancients have not been refined

<^{274a}One would expect *ora*, not *ore* (the reading of Migne). C. K.>.

²⁷⁵*Vitae Patrum* 4.4 (Migne, P. L., 71.1025-1026).

²⁷⁶I Chronicles 6.26-27. The marks of ellipsis in the quotation in the text indicate omissions made by Saint Quintianus.

among European peasantry by the flight of time, as we may see by a quotation taken from a book of travel²⁷⁷:

...The guard...told us that he had been stationed once on the coast a little east of Girgenti, near a town where the peasants pray for rain to their patron, S. Calogero, whose painted image, carved in wood, stands in their church. If it rains at once, well and good, they return thanks, and there is an end of the matter. But if their prayers are unanswered after what they consider a reasonable time, they hold a service and punctuate their prayers with threatening cries—
"Corda, o pioggia!"

The saint sometimes chooses the second alternative and sends the rain—the peasants return thanks, and all goes well. But if he is still obdurate, they assume he has chosen the first, put the threat into execution, take down S. Calogero, tie a cord about his neck and reverently cast him into the sea where they leave him till it does rain. If one waits long enough the rain always comes at last, even on the south coast of Sicily. Then they pull the poor saint out of the water, dry him, give him a fresh coat of paint and carry him back to his place in the church, with a brass band and thanksgiving—another form of the recurrent death and resurrection of the god, imitating sunset and sunrise.

An Englishman²⁷⁸ who traveled in the Cyclades a half-century ago relates that in times of drought ikons from a convent were carried up Mount Elias on the island of Amorgos to the small chapel of the prophet Elias upon its top. Peasants followed in crowds to kneel and pray before the shrine.

It is strange how closely the prophet Elias of the Christian Greek ritual corresponds to Apollo, the sun god of old; the name <sic!> Elias and Helios doubtless suggested the idea. When it thunders they say Prophet Elias is driving in his chariot in pursuit of dragons; he can send rain when he likes, like *βασίλειος Ζεύς* <sic!> of ancient mythology; and his temples, like those of Phoebus Apollo, are invariably set on high, and visited with great reverence in time of drought or deluge.

The idea that saints and prophets, alive or dead, are able to bring rain has not been confined to the Old World, if we may take at its face value a novelist's paragraph about Indians in New Mexico²⁷⁹:

"At Ácoma...you can see something very holy. They have there a portrait of St. Joseph, sent them by one of the Kings of Spain, long ago, and it has worked many miracles. If the season is dry, the Ácoma people take the picture down to their farms at Acomita, and it never fails to produce rain. They have rain when none falls in all the country, and they have crops when the Laguna Indians have none."

A little farther on in the same novel²⁸⁰ the magical powers of this picture are described more vividly:

...There was no doubt that the holy picture of St. Joseph had come to them from the King of Spain by the request of this Padre, and that picture had been more effective in averting drouth than all the native rain-makers had been. Properly entreated and honoured the painting had never failed to produce rain. Ácoma had not lost its crops since Friar Baltazar first brought the picture to them, though at Laguna and Zúfi there had been drouths that compelled the people to live upon their famine store,—an alarming extremity.

²⁷⁷H. P. Jones, *Diversions in Sicily*, 201–202 (London, Alston Rivers, 1909). Compare the treatment of St. Angelo at Licata, as described in Frazer, *The Magic Art*, 1.300.

²⁷⁸J. Th. Bent, *The Cyclades, or Life Among the Insular Greeks*, 478 (London, Longmans, 1885).

²⁷⁹Willia Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 87 (New York, The Modern Library, B. A. Cerf and D. S. Klopfer, 1931).

²⁸⁰109.

Daily weather reports have not destroyed the deep-seated confidence in the efficacy of prayer in times of dry weather. The Anglican Prayer Book still includes a prayer for rain. The following invocation is taken from The Book of Common Prayer, The Protestant Episcopal Church, for 1929²⁸¹:

O God, heavenly Father, who by thy Son Jesus Christ hast promised to all those who seek thy kingdom, and the righteousness thereof, all things necessary to their bodily sustenance; Send us, we beseech thee, in this our necessity, such moderate rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort, and to thy honour; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

In Phillips Russell's book called *Emerson, The Wisest American*²⁸², there occurs a passage about Emerson's grandfather:

In dry times it was the custom for all ministers to pray for rain; and during an exceptionally severe drought Dr. Ripley said to a younger colleague with professional dignity: "This is no time for you young Cambridge men; the affair, sir, is getting serious. I will pray myself."

Perhaps antiquity had no exact counterpart to the prayer of the circuit rider in *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*²⁸³, by John Fox:

O Lord, we do not presume to dictate to Thee, but we need rain, an' need it mighty bad. We do not presume to dictate, but, if it please Thee, send us, not a gentle sizzle-sozzle, but a sod-soaker, O Lord, a gully-washer. Give us a tide, O Lord.

I suspect that this quotation is fairly true to life. At all events the attitude is not much more naive than that shown by persons of greater education. The following clipping, from *The Ann Arbor Times News*, September 4, 1925, is representative of a number in my collection:

Prayer for rain was invoked in two southern states as a means of relief from suffering caused by one of the most dangerous droughts in this section of the country in half a century.

At Columbia, S. C., Gov. McLeod issued a proclamation setting aside Sunday as a day of fasting and prayer for rain.

Another clipping, from *The Detroit Free Press*, September 14, 1925, records the coming of relief after a protracted drought over a wide area in the South in 1925:

Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 13—(By the Associated Press.)—A break in the drought which has held most of the south with a firm grip many weeks, causing heavy damage to crops and a curtailment in manufacturing, came today. In many sections people gathered in houses of worship prayed for relief, and in some instances rain fell immediately after the services.

The governors of Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and Virginia had issued proclamations calling upon the people to pray for rain, but the prayers were not confined to these states.

Heavy rain began falling in Atlanta early in the afternoon. In some sections of the city persons who only a few minutes before had knelt in solemn prayer for relief were drenched as they left the churches.

Such isolated examples do not prove much, but the great drought of 1930 showed how quickly meteorological weather may again become theological. Days were

²⁸¹See page 40. The same page contains an invocation for fair weather. With the exception of two or three very minor changes this form of prayer has come down to us from the middle of the sixteenth century.

²⁸²See page 171 (New York, Brentano's, 1929).

²⁸³Chapter 4.

set aside for state-wide prayers, and in one instance at least fasting in addition was recommended by a governor in a proclamation. There would have been more services of this character if governors had yielded to all requests made for them.

Over a millennium ago Agobard observed²⁸⁴ that in times of drought many servants of God had interceded with Him by prayer and that He had deigned to listen to them. Churchmen have never ceased to make such appeals. The last time they did so in our own country was during the last drought.

(To be concluded)

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ELM LEAVES FOR FODDER

A news item from Paris, Missouri, under date of June 9, 1934, read, in part, as follows:

His pastures ruined by the drought and unable to buy hay, Perl Styles, a farmer northeast of here, is cutting down elm trees and feeding them to his cattle.

The cattle, Styles says, seem to enjoy the young twigs and leaves.

This announcement of a method of feeding enforced by the unusual drought of 1934 recalls the Roman practice of using elm leaves for fodder. Cato, in his *De Agri Cultura*¹, mentions this more than once. He says (6.3): "...Circum coronas et circum vias ulmos serito et partim populos, uti frondem ovibus et bubus habeas, et materies, siquo opus sit, parata erit. This is translated by Mr. Fairfax Harrison, in his *Roman Farm Management*², as follows (30): "...Plant elm trees along the roads and fence rows, so that you may have the leaves to feed the sheep and cattle, and the timber will be available if you need it...." Cato had said (5.8): "...frondem populneam, ulmeam, querneam caedito per tempus: eam condito non peraridam, pabulum ovibus.... In Chapters 30 and 54 he refers again to using leaves as fodder. Mr. Harrison, page 44, note 2, says, "The extravagant American farmer has not yet learned to feed the leaves of trees, but in older and more economical civilizations the practice is still observed".

Varro, in his work on farming³, says of the elm, in his discussion of fences (1.15): "...Serunt alii circum pinos...alii ulmos, ut multi habent in Crustumino: ubi id pote, ut ibi, quod est campus, nulla potior serenda, quod maxime fructuosa, quod et sustinet saepe ac cogit aliquot corbulae uvarum et frondem iucundissimam ministrat ovibus ac bubus ac virgas praebet saepibus et foco ac furno.

²⁸⁴De Grandine et Tonitruis 9 (Migne, P. L., 104.153).

¹The text of Cato, *De Agri Cultura* has been edited by George Goetz (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922). This book was a revision of an edition of the text by Heinrich Keil.

²*Roman Farm Management: The Treatises of Cato and Varro Done into English, With Notes of Modern Instances by a Virginia Farmer* (New York, Macmillan, 1913). The "Virginia Farmer" was Mr. Fairfax Harrison, President of the Southern Railway. <Mr. Harrison had a very interesting and instructive paper, entitled *The Crooked Plow*, in *The Classical Journal* 11(1916), 323-332. In this he examines the "plowing practice" of the ancient Romans. He discusses at length the plow used by the Romans, and their method of plowing. In doing this he considers Vergil, *Georgics* 1.169-175, and gives a translation of a long passage in Columella, *Res Rustica*, Book 2 (see pages 315, 329-331). He concludes (332) that "with a less perfect implement than that we now have the Romans plowed well and probably plowed better than many of us do to-day...." C. K.>

³The text of Varro's *Rerum Rusticarum Libri III* has been edited by George Goetz (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912).

This Mr. Harrison translates as follows (102-103):

...Others plant elms, as many have done in the district of Crustumeria: indeed, for planting in plains where it flourishes there is no tree which can be set out with such satisfaction or with more profit than the elm, for it supports the vine and so fills many a basket with grapes, yields its leaves to be a most agreeable forage for flocks and herds, and supplies rails for fences and wood for hearth and oven⁴.

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ANOTHER CATULLUS TO ANOTHER LESBIA

On a shelf in Sala III of the Museo Nazionale delle Terme at Rome the eye of the visitor may light upon a small, gracefully shaped funeral urn about twelve inches in height, equipped with handle and cover. If he happens to have his Catullus well in mind at the time, he may, not unnaturally, feel a surge of startled emotion rise within him as he reads the clear-cut inscription on the rectangular *titulus* of the vase:

D M
LESBIAE · SUAE ·
QUAM · UNICE · AMA
VIT · Q · CATULLUS · ME
RENS · POSUIT · VIX ·
AN · XVII · OBIIT · Q ·
CALENDAS · IULII ·

This may be rendered as follows: 'To the departed spirit of his dear Lesbia, whom he loved with single-hearted devotion, Quintus Catullus Merens has set up this memorial. Her age was seventeen years. She passed away on the fifth day before the Kalends of July'.

Who this young Lesbia and this Catullus were there is no way of ascertaining. The brief story of the urn is that of a love which was mingled at the end with bitterness and the sorrow of death. As we read it, we are reminded of the love of a better known Catullus for an older, and a less worthy, Lesbia, and of a far different kind of bitterness that was its tragic sequel.

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⁴Cato's *De Agri Cultura* has been translated by Mr. Ernest Brehaut, in a volume entitled *Cato the Censor on Farming* (Columbia University Press, 1933). There are many notes in this volume. Nothing, however, is said in the notes on 5.8, 6.3, about the feeding of leaves to cattle. I call attention also to a work entitled *Varro on Farming: M. Terenti Varronis Rerum Rusticarum Libri Tres*, Translated, With Introduction, Commentary and Excursuses, by Lloyd Storr-Best (London, Bell, 1912: Bohn Classical Library). On page 46, note 1 Mr. Storr-Best defends the manuscript reading *sustinet saepem*, against Keil's reading, *sustinet saepe*, which was accepted by Goetz. In the text of Keil and Goetz, given in the body of this article by Professor Johnston, *saepe* is, of course, the adverb; in that text *sustinet* and *cogit* both govern *corbulae*. This struck me as awkward, even before I saw Mr. Storr-Best's note. In his text, Mr. Storr-Best renders by "often supports and collects for you many a basket of grapes....", that is he translates the Keil-Goetz text. In his note, however, he says that *sustinet saepem* would mean "supports a fence...." In this, he continues, "Schneider and the rest see no sense. But the elms might play the part of the *pali statuti crebri* mentioned in the preceding chapter (xv). A row of trees 'supporting a fence' is common enough in this country". The reference to "(xv)" should be corrected to '(xiv)'. There we read that a hedge (*saepes*) fit... *palis statutis crebris et virgultis implicatis*.... This Mr. Storr-Best renders by "<The fence> is made of stakes set close together and interwoven with brushwood...." This explanation seems to me sensible, and the text defended thus by Mr. Storr-Best seems to me sound.

In 1889, on a farm in Vermont, I helped the hired man, one morning, cut down a number of small trees (beeches, I think). The cattle in the field where we were working rushed forward, when the first tree fell, and devoured the leaves. It was difficult to keep them from getting in the way of falling trees, so keen were they to eat the leaves, green, of course. C. K.>

SPITTIN' IN YO' HAN'S IN UNCLE REMUS¹

Dr. McCartney's note, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 27. 99-100 On Spitting Into The Hand As A Superstitious Act reminds me of Uncle Remus's story of the frustrated efforts of Brer Fox to bring about the undoing of "de little Rabbits". The latter were aided in their seemingly insuperable task by the song of "de little bird" (as Psyche was enabled to gather the bit of golden wool by the help of the whispering reed²):

"Den Brer Fox he git mighty mad, en p'int out a great big stick er wood, en tell de little Rabbits fer ter put dat on de fier. De little chaps dey got 'roun' de wood, dey did, en dey lif' at it so hard twel dey could see der own sins, but de wood ain't budge. Den dey hear de little bird singin', en dish yer's de song w'at he sing:

'Spit in yo' han's en tug it en toll it,
En git behine it, en push it, en pole it;
Spit in yo' han's en r'ar back en roll it.'

En des 'bout de time dey got de wood on de fier, der daddy, he come skippin' in, en de little bird, he flew'd away. Brer Fox, he seed his game wuz up, en 'twan't long 'fo' he makes his skuse en start fer ter go".

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PURPUREIS ALES OLORIBUS (HORACE,
CARMINA 4.1.9-11)

When Horace addresses Venus in Carmina 4.1, he urges her to transfer her revels to the abode of Paullus Maximus, saying (9-11),

tempestivus in domum
Paulli, purpureis ales oloribus
comissabere Maximi. . .

This *comissatio*, then, would be transported to its destination by swans. Our editions warn the young student that *purpureis* is not to be taken literally of the color of the swans. The translations of the ode that I have happened to see, from Ben Jonson's on, have the expression "thy bright swans".

However that may be, modern transportation is not afraid of color. One has seen the "Blue Goose" and "Golden Eagle" lines of motor busses. Lately, in a town not far from here, I saw a purple bus, and, just as we noted the name of the line, I saw a sign reading "Hire a Purple Swan for your next party!" Whether Horace's words suggested the name of this line I do not know, but, at any rate, it is now possible for a *comissatio* to be transported, literally, on Purple Swans.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH QUOTES HORACE

In the Spring of 1550 Princess Elizabeth of England, aged seventeen, wrote to her young brother, King

¹Joel Chandler Harris, Uncle Remus, 107-108 (New York, Appleton, 1911).

²Apuleius, Metamorphoses, Book 6, Chapters 11-13.

Edward VI, a letter accompanying a portrait of herself which he had requested of her. She laments that she was not privileged to come more often into his royal presence, and, to strengthen her fortitude, she professes to lean upon a dictum of Horace:

. . . And further, I shall most humbly beseech your Majesty that when you shall look on my picture, you will vouchsafe to think that, as you have but the outward shadow of the body afore you, so my inward mind wishes that the body itself were oftener in your presence; howbeit, because both my so being I think could do your Majesty little pleasure, though myself great good, and again because I see as yet not the time agreeing thereunto, I shall learn to follow this saying of Horace: *Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest*. And thus I will, troubling your Majesty, I fear, end with my most humble thanks. Beseeching God long to preserve you to his honour, to your comfort, to the realm's profit, and to my joy. From Hatfield, this 15 day of May. . .¹

It has been pointed out² that Elizabeth was at fault in attributing this Latin quotation to Horace, for it is nowhere to be found among his works, but appears, instead, in a slightly altered form (*Feras non culpes quod mutari non potest*), among the Sententiae of Publilius Syrus, the first-century writer of mimes³. The conjecture has been made that the verse in question may have been taken by the Princess from some commonplace book, some *florilegium* of golden phrases⁴.

There is, however, in the Odes of Horace a passage in which he gives very much the same practical advice as that contained in this verse of Publilius Syrus. At the end of the memorable ode (Carmina 1. 24) in which he is attempting to bring comfort to Vergil in his sorrowing over the death of their friend Quintilius he writes, Durum: sed levius fit patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas⁵. It may be that Princess Elizabeth had this Horatian passage in mind when she erred in foisting upon Horace a verse of similar purport (but of entirely different wording) from a poet less well known, at least by name. On this basis, at any rate, the discrepancy can be reasonably accounted for.

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¹Quoted in Elswyth Thane, The Tudor Wench, 152-153 (New York, Brewer, Warren and Putnam, 1932).

²Compare Louis Wiesener, The Youth of Queen Elizabeth, 136 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1879).

³Verse 201 in the edition by R. A. H. Bickford-Smith (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1895). Compare also Macrobius, Saturnalia 2.7.11. It should be noted, however, that the verse is quoted by Aulus Gellius (17.4.4) as Princess Elizabeth gives it in her letter except that *vitari* appears in place of *mutari*. <What is left of the Sententiae of Publilius Syrus can be found in a book on whose title-page one finds this: Publilii Syri Sententiae Ad Fidem Codicum Optimorum Primum Recensuit Eduardus Woelfflin (Leipzig, Teubner, 1866). C. K.>

⁴Compare Thane, 356 (see note 1, above).

⁵Compare Vergil's own verse (Aeneid 5.710), Quicquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est. <E. C. Wickham, Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia, The Works of Horace, With a Commentary, Vol. I, The Odes, Carmen Saeculare, and Epodes (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1877), writes as follows (at the close of his introductory remarks on Carmina 1.24 [page 73]): "It would seem, if Donatus be giving a genuine trait of Virgil in his Life, c. 18, that Horace is recalling his friend to his own philosophy for consolation: 'Solitus erat dicere nullam virtutem commodiorem homini esse patientia, ac nullam adeo asperam esse fortunam quam prudenter patiendo vir fortis non vincat.'" C. K.>